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In general it may be said that effigies of the bird type are found over the entire region in which effigies are found, although certain types seem to have a restricted range—the bear type, westward from Lake Waubesa to Sauk County and probably beyond; the water-spirit, over the entire region from Milwaukee to Madison and as far north as Gills Landing in Waupara County; the goose, at Lake

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[171]

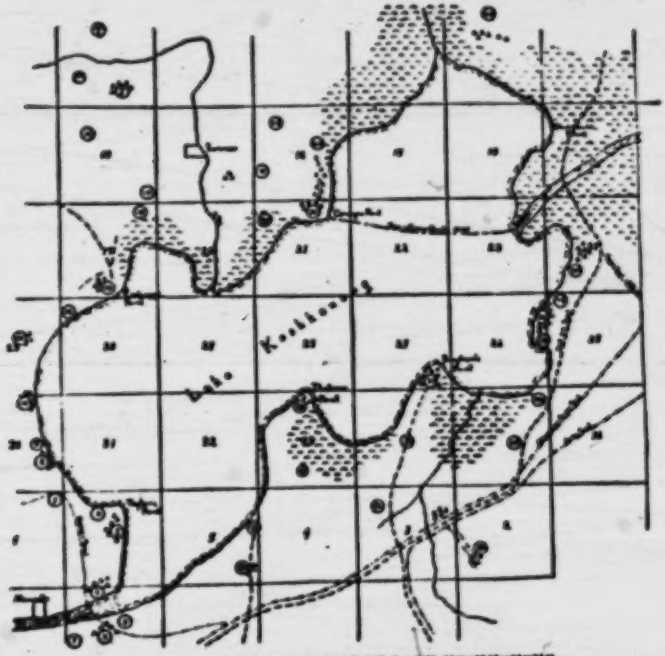

FIG. 32.—ARCHEOLOGIC MAP OF LAKE KOSHKONONG.

INDEX TO MAP.

1. Conch shell cache, 1842.
2. Black Hawk's camp, 1832.
3. Ogden group.
4. Rock River group and village site.
5. Tay-o-he-dah group and village site.
6. Taylor House group.
7. Fulton group.
8. Koshkonong group and village site.
9. John Cox group.
10. Koz Springs group and village site.
11. North group.
12. Rube Hawk group.
13. Le Saltier group and village site.
14. Goldthorpe burials.
15. Hoosner Garden beds.
16. Kanipe group.
17. a-b-c. Koshkonong Creek mounds and village site.
18. Conch shell cache, 1842.
19. Beaver group.
20. Shaw farm group.
21. Carrejou mounds and White Crow's village.
22. Log Hay mounds and garden beds.
23. Allporter group and White Oak's village.
24. Man Eater's village.
24 and 25. Gen. Atkinson group.
26. Hazel group and Kennekuk's camp.
27. Fox Hunter's Point mound and cornfield.
28. Lockwood group.
29. Haight's Creek group.
30. Atkinson's camp.
31. Indian cornfields.
32 and 33. Jos Bingham group and village site.
34 and 35. Thickens Point village site and cornfields.
36. French trader's cabin site.
37. Camp site and cornfield.
38. Black Hawk Island camp site.

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5214 tacle, generally a moccasin, in which a small object was secreted. The sides in turn guessed in which moccasin it was secreted. The guesser pointed in turn with a long stick to each moccasin, all the time carefully scrutinizing the expression on the face of each man whose moccasin he touched. The bystanders and the other players on his side meanwhile sang songs and made all sorts of remarks and allusions in an attempt to catch off his guard the man in whose moccasin the object was secreted, so that he might disclose the fact by some gesture or expression. The person guessing had the right to touch each moccasin without forfeiting his chance. As soon as he wished to guess he overturned with his stick the moccasin in which he thought the object was hidden. The seriousness with which a player scrutinized his opponents is well shown in plate 30.

[462] *Women's dice game.*—The women's dice game (*kᵉᵉnsu*) was played with either bone or wooden dice. Eight of these are used. After being shaken, they are allowed to fall into a wooden bowl. The dice are white on one side and black or blue on the other. One of the dice has a mark on each side. The count is as follows: 1 dark, 7 white, count 2; 2 dark, 6 white, 1; all dark, 0 white, 4; 3 dark, 5 white, 0; 4 dark, 4 white, 0; marked dice dark, 7 white, 10; marked dice white, 7 dark, 10; marked dice white, 1 other white, the rest dark, 2; all dice white, 4; 2 white, 6 dark, 1; 1 white, 7 dark, 2.

[237] The side gaining all the counters, which consist of small sticks, wins.

Cup-and-ball game.—"A cup-and-ball game is composed of eight worked phalangeal bones of the Virginia deer (*Odocoilus virginiana*). It differs from those seen by the writer among the Cree and Ojibway in that the topmost phalangeal unit of the game as played among those people does not have the joint removed, whereas in the Winnebago specimens all the bones are cut into conical form. The top is generally surmounted by a bunch of leather thongs with many perforations. The striking pin is of bone. The count is one for each unit, five for catching the tails or thongs at the top, and the same if all the units are caught together, which occasionally happens. The bottom unit nearest the striking pin has four small perforations set at equal distances about the lower edge. Above these holes are two, three, four, and six dots, respectively, cut in the bone. The count gained by catching this bone through any one of the holes varies according to the number of these dots. The striking pin may be of bone or wood. Sometimes these games are stained with dye or paint. The string and pins are short, so that the game is much more difficult and clumsy than in the Cree and Ojibway forms."[9]

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[9] A. Skinner, op. cit., pp. 225-226.

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Tree game.—Two trees are selected about 20 feet apart, one having a branch about 15 feet from the ground. A number of people stand ready at the side of this tree and the one whose turn it is to play tries to hit the branch. When he succeeds in doing so all run toward the other tree. As soon as the player gets the ball he tries to hit the runners. If successful in this before the others have reached the tree he wins; otherwise they are "safe" and he must try again. The Winnebago called this game *hahi'hidjike'u*. 526

Travel and Transportation

Canoes and dugouts.—All the boats found in the early days in the territory originally inhabited by the Winnebago were dugouts, yet a number of the tribe questioned denied positively that boats of this kind were in common use before the coming of the whites. According to these informants, in former times the Winnebago always had their home in a birch country, and had at hand, therefore, the requisite material for making canoes; moreover, birch-bark canoes were much easier to construct than dugouts, for which logs had to be hollowed by burning—a process that might consume weeks. Only when the whites introduced the ax and the knife did it become practicable to make dugouts. These implements became available at the time of the southern migration of the tribe into a region where birch bark was scarce, and one result of the change was the substitution of the dugout for the canoe. The validity of this explanation is supported by the same line of argument as in the case of the wooden vessels. 501 [412 177 167]

Snowshoes.—The snowshoes of the Winnebago were similar to those used by the Menomince, with this difference, that the two pieces of wood forming the "handle," instead of being tied together for their whole length, as among the latter, were left unfastened for about 5 inches at the end. This difference is immediately detected (pl. 40) by the present-day Winnebago, who can easily identify, by the feature mentioned, snowshoes belonging to the tribe. 481 [171]

Musical Instruments

The musical instruments of the Winnebago seem to have been restricted to the flute, drum, and gourd. The flute was made of red cedar and usually had a range of five or six notes; it was used at many ceremonies, and especially by young men when courting. The drum consisted of a framework (in later days a wooden pail or a barrel served the purpose), over which a skin was drawn very tight. A small quantity of water was always kept in the drum so that the skin could be wet as often as necessary. Rattles consisted of dried gourds filled, in olden times, with seeds, in more modern times with buckshot (pl. 30, *d*, *f*). 534

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Names.—A newborn child received a birth name immediately. 551
There were six such names for male children and six for female children, which were given according to the order of birth:

Male	*Female*
1. K'u'nu.	1. Hi'nu.
2. He'nu.	2. Wi'ha.
3. Ha'ga.	3. Aksi'-a (generally pronounced Aksi).
4. Na'gxi.	4. Hi'nuṇk'.
5. Naṇxixó'nu.	5. A'ksigaxó'nu.
6. Naṇxixonu'niñk'a.	6. A'ksigaxónu'niṇk'a.

The meanings of these names are unknown to the present Winnebago, who reject the idea that they ever had any meaning apart from indicating the order of birth. Originally, of course, these names had meanings, but at the present time they resemble no other Winnebago names and baffle all attempts at interpretation. This is not surprising, because they represent in all probability archaic names which undoubtedly have been considerably modified through long-continued use. The Dakota have a similar set of names but only four in number. The two additional names among the Winnebago indicate by their form that they have been derived from one of the other four. In this connection it is interesting to note that the fifth of the male names is, as one might expect, merely the fourth name of the series with the addition of a diminutive suffix, whereas the fifth of the female names is the third of that series with a like addition. The sixth name of each series is formed by adding another diminutive suffix to the fifth name. [171]

A few words may not be out of place here with regard to the 551
relation of the male to the female series, and to the possible interpre- 562
tation of two of the female names. He'nu[1] of the male and Hi'nu of 193
the female series, it will be noted, differ only in the first vowel. A similar phenomenon is found in such relationship terms as *hi'nṭṣk*, male child of elder brother, and *hi'ɑ̃nuṇk'*, female child of elder brother. Remembering that in those Siouan languages which distinguish between female and male oral stops the difference often consists merely in the change of a vowel, this difference between He'nu and Hi'nu may be suggestive. The name K'u'nu may be connected with *k'u'nṭṣk*, "a grandmother," in which *k'u* is unquestionably the stem, meaning probably "old." In the female series there is a possible relationship between Hi'nu and Hi'nuṇk', as *k'* seems to be a very common ending in relationship terms. Hi'nuṇk' itself is identical with the word for "woman" and it seems hard to imagine that it is not the same, especially since it is also found as the relationship term for female child of younger brother. [60]

[1] He'nu is also the name for a man's elder sister.

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Generation	Male	Female
6. Grandson's	Hitcû°ckâ', hiniŋk',	Hitcû°jô'ŋk', hinûŋk',
6. Great-grandson's	Hitcû°ckâ', hiniŋk', (Hitcû°jô'ŋk')	Hitcû°jô'ŋk', hinûŋk', (Hitcû°ckâ')
7. Great-great-grandson's	(Hitcû°jô'ŋk')	(Hitcû°ckâ')

For the first three generations no term is repeated except *hitcû'°wi°*; for the fourth generation eight terms are repeated and two terms are added, *hiniŋk'* and *hi'nûŋk'*. After that all the terms are repeated and no new terms are added. Only three sets of terms are repeated for more than two generations—*hitcû°ckâ'*, *hitcû°jô'ŋk hinuŋk'tcr'k*, *waxoho'tci*, and *hi'niŋk'*, *hi'nûŋk'*. After the fifth generation only one set of terms is used.

Distribution of all relationship terms[1] *occurring more than once.*—

Hi-uni'niŋk', wife of p. br.; m. sr.

Hi'ni, elder br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hisûŋk', younger br.; son of p. br.; son of m. sr.

Hi'nu, elder sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Waitekâ', younger sr.; daughter of p. br.; daughter of m. sr.

Hi'niŋk', son of elder br.; son of sr. (sister speaking).

Hi'nûŋk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of sr.

Hitcû°ckâ', son of elder br.; son of daughter and son; son of br.; son of p. sr.

Hitcû°jô'ŋk', daughter of elder br.; daughter of daughter and son; daughter of p. sr.; daughter of br.

Hitcû'°wi°, p. sr.; daughter of m. br.; wife of son of m. sr.

Hitca'°, husbands of sisters; husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of m. sr.

Hiciga'°, wife of br.; wife of son of br.

Hicik°o', husband of p. sr.; husband of daughter of br.

Joking Relationship[2]

602

A man was not permitted to take even the slightest liberties with any of his near relatives or with his mother-in-law or his father-in-law, but a curious exception to this rule was permitted for his father's sister's children (*hitcû°ckâ'* and *hitcû°jô'ŋk'*); his mother's brother's children (*hitcû°ckâ'* and *hitcû°jô'ŋk'*); his mother's brothers (*hidc'k'*); and his sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law. In the two cases last named not only was a man permitted to joke with those relatives but he was supposed to do so whenever he had an opportunity. Under no circumstances were any of these individuals supposed to take offense. This relationship was of course reciprocal. If a person

[1] A more specific study of these relationship terms is reserved for a special article on Human Relationship Terms.

[2] The joking relationship was discovered among the Winnebago by the author. Since then it has been found to exist among the Crows and the Creeks, etc.

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PART II

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—GENERAL DISCUSSION

We are justified in assuming that the twofold division of the Winnebago and the southern Siouan tribes, Dhegiha and Teiwere, had a common historical origin. Our identification is based upon the existence in these three tribal units of specific similarities apart from those of social organization. Positive proof that the type of social organization is historically identical among these tribes is not, however, forthcoming. This will become even more apparent when we consider the twofold division from the point of view of the names they bear, the subdivisions within them, and their specific functions.

According to our informants, the twofold organization among the Dhegiha and Teiwere only existed upon specific occasions, when the tribe was on the tribal hunt. We are in complete ignorance as to whether in olden times this arrangement was reflected in the village, but we know that whether it was or not, the twofold division was present in a very definite manner in the consciousness of the people themselves; that is, every individual definitely knew to which one of the two divisions he belonged and that certain names and functions were associated with them. The moment, however, that we stop to analyze these names, functions, etc., we realize at once that to-day they connote different ideas in the different tribes under discussion. The names of the divisions seem particularly significant in this connection. Among the Omaha they are known as Ictacunda and Hanga, probably connoting Sky people and Leaders; among the Ponca, as Wajaje and Teiju, Earth and Thunder; among the Kansa, as Yata and Ictunga, Right side and Left side; among the Osage as Teiju and Hanga, Peace and War side. The names for the Kwapa, Oto, Missouri, and Iowa are not known. It will be seen at a glance that the terms Teiju and Ictacunda are identical, and it will also be noticed by reference to the monographs of J. O. Dorsey and Miss Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, that these names as well as the name Hanga are names of subdivisions within these divisions. Were these names first used to designate the two divisions or the subdivisions? There seems to be no reason for believing that the

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171 names were first applied to the larger divisions, whereas a number of
174 facts speak strongly in favor of the reverse. In no case, for instance,
114 can it be shown that the two divisions, per se, have any functions
614 except that of regulating marriage. The various political and ceremonial functions displayed pertain to the subdivisions composing them. Owing to the massing together of a number of such functions on each side, we often obtain the impression that these belong to the larger unit, as such. And indeed this may be said to be true at the present time, in so far as the functions of one subdivision have become identified with the larger unit. All that we wish to point out here is that the names of the two divisions may be different, and that they may connote different ideas in the different divisions of an historically related culture, due to specific historical development within each. Among the Dhegiha there seem to be a number of reasons for assuming that the present names of the two divisions are not the historically primary ones.

It is far more difficult to discuss the names of the subdivisions or "gentes" within the two larger divisions. From a comparative point of view it must be regarded as significant that the names of the subdivisions within the Teiwere tribes tally almost exactly with those of the Winnebago and that those of the Dhegiha tribes tally with the names of many of the two latter, although they possess, in addition, a large number not found among them. The Teiwere and Winnebago have animal appellations for their clans, the Dhegiha have animal appellations plus a type of designation descriptive of animal taboo. Which of the two types is the older it is difficult to say. This fact might be noted, however, that the animal names have, to a large extent, been forgotten and that the descriptive taboo appellations have not; that in a number of cases there is some reason for believing that these animal appellations have been reinterpreted and in other cases replaced by nonanimal designations; that the origin myths of these divisions always explain why a certain animal is associated with a subdivision, and rarely the origin of the taboo name; and lastly, that the majority of personal names are strictly comparable to the clan names of the Winnebago and the Teiwere. On the other hand, the descriptive taboo type of name is found frequently among the band appellations of the Plains Indians, with whom the Omaha had come into intimate contact and by whom they had been influenced along definite lines of ceremonial and social development. For these reasons we would like to suggest that the animal appellations are historically primary and that the taboo type became subsequently popular and spread over the whole tribe. Examples of changes in the names of subdivisions are by no means isolated. The Winnebago exhibit a tendency to substitute names indicative of the function of a clan for the old animal names—and this

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has gone so far that a large number of individuals would probably deny to-day that the Hawk and the Warrior clan are one and the same. Again, among the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw we find Sun and Star clans, and, if we were to imagine that for some reason or another the latter type of name became popular, it might here become dominant within a comparatively short time.

Like a twofold division, the clan may connote a number of different things to the minds of the Indians. The Omaha apparently used the term *tonwoŋthaⁿ*, which means literally "place-of-habitation-of-those-related," *thaⁿ* being the possessive-reflexive pronoun. It would thus seem to coincide with a geographical unit. The Quapaw use the term *enikucigu*, evidently meaning "people"; the Kansa, the term *wayumida*, "those-who-sing-together"; the Osage, the term *pedu*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a'radjera*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. It has at the present time no other function, per se. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact of importance to us here is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favors the view that no Omaha would, for example, suppose that the Hangacenu division, as such, was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the Inkesabe gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the Hanga clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent

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of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

Similarly, among the Ponca, the Wajaje half corresponds to the Wajaje clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the Tciju and the Hanga divisions of one side, and the Wajaje divisions of the other, correspond to the clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the Tciju division of the Ponca. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hwąk* or "chiefs," and to the other as *manąp'e* or "soldiers," although the latter is not common.

In short, we have a right to see, in all the facts mentioned, indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000-odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodlands of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which the Winnebago were found scattered not long after Nicolet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

The question, therefore, of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the general organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village, setting off one group against another. Systematic question-

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616 As the basis of organization in a game, the twofold division finds
526 expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always
pitted against the *manegi*. A well-known myth is associated with
[173] this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the
waŋgeregi and *manegi* decided their respective rank by playing a
game in which they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi*
won and for that reason the chiefs of the tribe have been selected
from this division. A division into two halves when playing cere-
monial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago but of
¶171] the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the
former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned
political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no
such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves
merely on this occasion.

616 Up to the present we have treated the two divisions as social units
614 per se, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it
may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgeregi* people are some-
times spoken of as the Bird clan (*waniṗk hakiṫ'aredjira*), and that the
four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their
clan origin myths so similar, that the assumption of the four clans
representing one clan that subsequently split up into a number of
divisions is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is,
however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan op-
posed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, for his-
torically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but
one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical
equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the dis-
parity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of
the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

Clan Organization

614 There are 12 clans among the Winnebago with the following names:

A. *Waŋgeregi herera* (those who are above):[1]

1. *waxuṇdja*, thunderbird.
2. *waneyiru waxkiṫ*, war-people.
3. *teaxeap*, eagle.
4. *ruteya*, pigeon (extinct).

B. *manegi herera* (those who are on earth):

5. *huṇc*, bear.
6. *caxkteuxk'*, wolf.
7. *waxkteexi*, water spirit.
8. *tes*, deer.
9. *hi'ne*, elk.

[1] All the clans of the upper phratry are also called *ekuhaneru*, "Those-with-wings." This name is found in ceremonies.

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614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its
614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war
778 bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
[776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
[773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the
[771] Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

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chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus the Wolf people are regarded as "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people are connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk are connected with the care of the fireplaces while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found great favor among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favor, while among the Central Algonquian neither type prevailed.

Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are thus the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan social organization and have given an entirely different color to clan structure there.

THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE CLANS

We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact of belonging to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitcak'oro*). This always subsists between two, although it seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions. One individual postulated them just on this basis, i. e., Thunderbird-Bear, Warrior-Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird-Warrior; Eagle-Pigeon; Bear-Wolf; Buffalo-Water-spirit; Elk-Deer; Snake-Fish. Most informants did not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associated it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *Waŋgreĝi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend clan," although some divide them into Thunderbird-Warrior and Eagle-Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions: first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife-borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend clan" is again apparent at the naming-feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

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614 572 The relation of *hitcak'ero* or "friend clan" is thus strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcak'ero* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong, inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together but the death of one on the war-path involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephew (*hitcegep*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relation as that existing between *hidek'* and *hitcegep*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and clan *hitcak'ero*, on the other. In the former there is the bond of blood, real or fictitious; in the latter, only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcegep* relation, the individual *hitcak'ero* and the clan *hitcak'ero* all may be of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation of even a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'ero* and the clan *hitcak'ero* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'ero* relation of individuals this is always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'ero* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to indicate that no blood bond was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'ero* bears to the individual *hitcak'ero* relation, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

THE SPECIFIC POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

614 778 Among the Omaha a number of clans have in their possession certain objects around which not merely the clan but also the tribal reverence is centered. Historically, we believe that these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing remotely comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

The specific material possessions of the clan consist of certain war bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. There also exist war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waxgeregi*, the other among the *manegi* divisions. In connection with the clan bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as Winter Feasts. The distribution of the clan bundle differentiates these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely

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fact of Winnebago culture, namely, that there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects, are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan as an organization, the other from the entire clan unit. 614 575 [796]

In the Winter Feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honor. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to represent a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings that were contained in the war bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were indeed made to them. There seem thus to have been two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other to the night-spirits. 614 796 [782 776]

The question arising with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or whether we are to suppose that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing we must also add the fact that the Winter Feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonquian, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary. [171]

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan unit. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization and in content. The difference between it and a society like that of the night-spirit lies in the fact that although the five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle

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CHAPTER X

SHAMANISTIC AND MEDICINAL PRACTICES

Introduction

756 [171] The shamanistic and medicinal practices of the Winnebago differ in no respect from those found all over the woodland area and there is consequently no need for discussing them at length. The stories told about *Midjistega* and old Lincoln are the famous tricks and sleight-of-hand performances known all over America. There does not seem to be as much said about the conjuring lodge as is the case among the Ojibwa. This apparently is identical with the Winnebago *waruka'na*, "exerting one's powers." The lack of specific information relating to this subject obtained by the author may, however, be due to accident.

278 754 [787] The Winnebago make a fourfold classification of their medicines: Those that affect a person by direct administration; those that affect him by their odor, like love and racing medicines; those that affect him at a distance; and those that are shot at an individual. Most of the medicines are obtained by fasting, although they can also be bought. The most important of these medicines are those called the stench-earth medicine (see p. 259) and the black-earth medicine.

[788] Medicine may be used in a number of ways, but principally as offerings or as means of killing animals or men. It is often chewed.

[789] In order to make arrows or guns unerring, medicine is frequently rubbed upon them.

754 Sympathetic magic is of course well known. The procedure is the common one. A picture of the man to be harmed is drawn on the ground and shot at, stabbed, etc. The man is then certain to die a short time after, in the same manner as the figure has been mutilated.

There are two general magical ceremonies. *Waruka'na*, to know something by exerting one's powers; *wana"teere*, to hypnotize in the distance. (For description of latter, see p. 111.)

787 *Example of waruka'na.* —J.'s older brother and a friend had failed to return home and so J.'s grandfather went to a man called C. English and, offering him some tobacco, asked him to find out something about his son i. e., to exert his powers. English did so and told the old man that they were camping and making sugar and that if

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or success on the warpath to the most insignificant trifles. Practically any spirit, no matter how indefinitely conceived, can bestow generalized blessings. On the whole, however, these powers are conceived of as being in the hands of a comparatively small number, and the same powers are frequently possessed by different spirits. This will become clear after a careful perusal of the fasting experiences. 776

As to the prevalence of the belief in the localization of spirits, not only among the Winnebago but over all North America, there can no longer be any doubt. Among the Winnebago there are as many spirits as there are lakes, hills, rivers, etc., and all these are looked upon from two points of view, first as the bestowers of certain blessings and, secondly, as the protectors of their own precincts. In the first case they are generally identical with the guardian spirits. In the second case they are simply vague, indistinct spirits to whom offerings are made for temporary protection. So when a Winnebago crossed a river or lake he poured tobacco into the water as a recompense for trespassing, and uttered the prayer that no storms should arise or that he should not come to grief. [171] [782]

As to whether the spirits here are the lakes, rivers, hills, etc., or some being inhabiting them, the answer is, unquestionably the latter.

The Twofold Interpretation of the Relation of the Spirits to Man

We mentioned before (p. 279) that the interpretation of the relationship between the spirits and man was largely mechanical, blessings being secured apparently independent of any volition on the part of the spirits, for if the Winnebago make the requisite offerings to the Thunderbirds they must accept them and bestow on the suppliant the powers they possess. While this interpretation was undoubtedly the popular one, the shamans tried to develop another explanation — what might be called a "contract" theory. The spirits possessed the various powers without which man could achieve only a modicum of success; and man possessed tobacco, corn, eagle feathers, buckskin, etc. His principal possession, however, was tobacco, and this had been given him directly by Earthmaker. The contract was definite and distinct: man was to give the spirits tobacco, etc.; and the spirits were to give man the powers they controlled. Accompanying this change of interpretation, there was a difference of attitude, the principal characteristic of which was a heightened religious feeling. This change of interpretation is clearly shown in the concept of the guardian spirit. [756]

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Should they ever have a bad illness
they have the means of obtaining life by praying for it," by offering 796x 539x
tobacco and a flute."

"Disease-giver himself made these things holy. Thus they would 782
obtain life, if they had any illness, by offering you reed flutes, food, 776
tobacco, feathers, a white dog, and by making you at the same time an offering of buckskin hides. (Thus Disease-giver spoke to our grandfather when he blessed him:) 'A holy flute I made for you, and I forbade you to blow upon it, yet you did it. Now, hereafter, if you offer me a sufficient number of buckskins, you may blow upon it. A different life from that of others will you lead, if you do that. You will be able to cut off (stop) a bad disease caused by someone else. Nor will this one (who was ill) ever have another disease.'"

"Thus Disease-giver spoke. This is what the one who causes disease said. That is how they blessed our grandfather Djôbenągiwi'ųxga. A song I am now about to start. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Disease-giver sang.)

Host's fourth speech.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, 796x
I greet you. The last (song) we will now finish. You who are in the 539x
east, Night Spirits, you also added your blessing to the spirit bundle 787
of grandfather Djôbenągiwi'ųxga. So that he might know (he 776
blessed by) the spirits, grandfather Djôbenągiwi'ųxga starved and thirsted himself to death[a] and made himself pitiable. At first he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came.[b] There they stood (and said), 'Human, you have thirsted yourself to death and we bless you (for that reason). We who speak are the spirits who are called Night Spirits.' They blessed him with war power and life, they said. Then he looked and (said to himself), 'I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits that speak.' So he looked at them and they were small birds called *hoč'ge*.[c] They had fooled him. Then once again was his heart sore. 'Well! I will die,' he thought (fasting). So he fasted again and once again he rubbed on (the charcoal). For six nights he continued to fast. And again from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him (and said), 'Human, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We felt sad on your account. With

[a] A rather curious expression used only in elevated language and meaning, literally, "to obtain with the mouth"—i. e., either by operation, prayers, or singing. The expression would hardly be permitted in ordinary Winnebago. [715]

[b] He does not secure by offering flutes, but by playing on them. Reed flutes are generally associated in the blessings of most spirits, but they seem to be more closely connected with the Disease-giver and the Buffalo. [534]

[c] This, I believe, is the meaning of the last three sentences. They are somewhat obscure, and I do not guarantee the correctness of the rendering.

[d] Idiomatic expression for fasting.

[e] All powerful spirits are supposed to appear with loud noises. This is also characteristic of the Ojibway spirits. [171]

[f] English equivalent unknown.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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171 The division of the
616 tribe into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago, but of the Omaha, Menominee,
526 Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion, although we know that this is not the only occasion upon which it behaves in this manner.

174 Up to the present, we have treated the two divisions as
614 social units *per se*, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *wangeregi*
616 people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*wanĭŋk' hokikaradjara*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, one of them even declaring the other three bird clans to be merely the descendants of the three younger thunderbird ancestors, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that became split up into a number of divisions, is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, since historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

THE CLAN ORGANIZATION.

614 There are twelve clans (*hokikaradjara*) among the Winne-
[616] bago: the Thunderbird (*wakandja*), the Warrior (*wonaxerc waŋkcik'*), the Eagle (*teaxecp'*), and Pigeon (*ruʻtcge*), now extinct, belonging to the *wangeregi* half; and the Bear (*huŋk'*), Wolf (*cuŋkcuŋk'*), Buffalo (*tce*), Water-spirit (*waktcexi*), Deer (*tcaʻ*), Elk (*huwq*), Snake (*wakʻq*), and Fish (*hoʻ*), all belonging to the *maŋgegi* half.

In addition to the above names, we have the name Chief (*huŋk*) applied to the Thunderbird; Hawk (*heretcą*), to the Warrior; (*manąpe*) Soldier, to the Bear clans.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others.

Arrangement of Clans in Village.

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *waŋgeregi* division except the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *maŋegi* division except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped on the *waŋgeregi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness.

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans, but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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174 lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even
614 should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over
614 the other types of association, we must still insist that psycho-
625 logically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit and that we are not dealing with the relation of cause and effect but with a new association.

182 Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions,
614 the details of which cannot be discussed here. The Thunderbird is the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan, that relating to war; the Bear clan, that relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, that of public crier and intermediary between the chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and the Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus, the Wolf people were considered in the light of "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people as connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk as connected with the care of the fire-places while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found [174] great favour among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being [171] extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favour, while among the Central Algonkin neither type occurred.

[171] Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan organization and have given an entirely different picture to clan structure there.

The Reciprocal Relationship of the Clans.

614 We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was
616 the fact that they belonged to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitcak'ɔ'ro*). This always subsists between two, although it

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Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions; first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend-clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend-clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend-clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend-clan" is again apparent at the "naming" feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

The relation of "*hitcak'ɔ'ro*" or "friend-clan" is strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcak'ɔ'ro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together, but the death of one on the warpath involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephews (*hitcɣege*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relations as that existing between the *hidek'* and *hitcɣege*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and the in-

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *waŋgeregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *maŋegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *maŋegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *waŋgeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn.

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan.

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found.

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcak'ɔ'ro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit.

The Specific Possessions of the Clan.

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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171 614 778 the tribal reverence is centred. Historically, we believe that these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing in the remotest manner comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance

614 778 The specific material possessions of the clan consist of certain war-bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. Of more general possession are the [616] war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waŋgeregi*, the other among the *maŋegi* divisions. In connexion [796] with the clan-bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as winter feasts. [171] The distribution of the clan-bundle differentiates these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*haⁿhe*). The winter feast might thus be interpreted [575] as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war-bundle may, therefore, be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have [926] an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use, they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

Immaterial Possessions of the Clan.

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan possesses a type of what might be called "immaterial" possessions. These all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the bird clans, this is the possession of fire; for the

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued, he defiantly sings his clan songs.

As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha, as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

"When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan, as a unit of organization, the other from the entire clan complex.

In the Winter feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war-bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honour. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to impersonate a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings contained in the bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were made to them. Indeed, there seem to be two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question that arises with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing, we must also add the fact that the Winter feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonkin, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary.

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan complex. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization

3: Michelson E-4 (no date) 1935
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554 562 582 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 624 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 551 614 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of character; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 174 614 [114] [648] [551] A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with" fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.

[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

3: Michelson E-4 (no date) 1935
NP12 Winnebago NP12

than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[13] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was inhabited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with Atwater's data.

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'ûˀñgegā as a personal name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'ûˀñgɛra as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûñk or kec'ûˀñgɛ̄ is a large species of turtles, and that kɛ̄ also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r.

[13] They are in his Fox list.

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12

mode. The older women still prefer to wear this type of dress, and very often the ensemble includes moccasins rather than shoes on their feet and a blanket draped about their shoulders. Most of the young women, however, dress very much as white women of their own age. 178

3. Another type of cultural change is found in the Indians modifying some aspect of white culture with elements of their original culture to suit their own needs and tastes. This is best illustrated by the trend that religion has followed among a large proportion of the tribe. Some of the Winnebago who have been enticed away from their old religion, and yet were not satisfied with orthodox forms of Christianity, have adopted the Peyote or Mescal Religion which they prefer to call The Native American Church. This did not originate among the Winnebago, but came in from the southwestern tribes about 50 years ago, and has even undergone changes among the Winnebago group. The Peyote religion is basically Christian, stressing the literal acceptance of the Bible and the strict following of Christ's teachings. It, however, embodies the use of a fairly harmless drug, peyote, which when taken in large enough quantities produces visions, so familiar in Indian religions. The use of a small drum, eagle feathers, and ornate rattles, as well as the burning of cedar leaves are included in the night-long ceremonies. This religion might be considered a transitional form between the so-called pagan religion and Christianity, but though it embodies characteristics of both religions, it appears to have reached a definite stabilized form and will probably undergo few changes in the future. 178 195 [276]

4. We also have change completely within the society from old Indian to new Indian traits. The old Indians tell of an original Winnebago language, very ancient and now almost completely forgotten, which has been replaced by a newer, but still very Indian type of language. In recent years the language has undergone other changes, but this is due to white contact. It is strange that the Winnebago of Wisconsin who have been forced to live in scattered groups and in close contact with whites, have maintained their language to a much greater extent than some of the Wisconsin Chippewa or Me- 178 191 [170]

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12

178 nomini who live on reservations and, it seems logical to as-
191 sume, would be likely to consider themselves more of a cul-
171 tural entity, and so be better equipped to preserve their lang-
uage. None the less, this does not seem to be the case according to Chippewa and Menomini informants who claim that many of their younger people do not speak the tribal language, whereas a majority of even the smallest children among the Wisconsin Winnebago are bi-lingual.

178 In considering our four types of social change, we might
535 almost add a fifth type, which arises from a reaction against white contact and is a tendency to return to old patterns, as in the case of the revival of the scalp and victory dances which practically died out after the last World War. These dances have come into prominence in the last year or so with the Indian boys again going on the "war-path."

Cultural Change and Cultural Stability

178 Although we are considering cultural change among the
182 Wisconsin Winnebago, the picture at this point seems rather one-sided without some mention of resistance to cultural change. Despite the constant and long-continued process of change, there is still retained a surprising amount of old Indian culture. Christian missionaries and the Peyote Religion have not managed to do away with the Thunderbirds, Water Spirits, and the rest of the pagan hierarchy. The Medicine Lodge continues as an important factor in the life of many Wisconsin Winnebago. Unfortunately, the writer's data are limited regarding the present number and ages of the adherents to the pagan religion, or as they prefer to be called, **the conservative group.**

182 It is interesting to note that practically all of the Winne-
551 bago, whether from Wisconsin or Nebraska, whether Christian, conservative, or pagan, still refer to their children by ancient religiously determined names. They are used in preference to the Christian names which all Indians now possess. These Indian names for boys and girls are merely an indication of the order of age and sex of the children in any given family, and are not to be confused with clan names which are

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

Winnebago Berdache

By NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the century, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore, while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit, at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

The Winnebago term for berdache is very uncertain. The last known case in Wisconsin was called dejáŋčowiŋga, usually translated as Blue Lake Woman (dejáŋčowiŋga—dejáŋ: lake or sea; čo: blue; wiŋ: female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). In Nebraska mention was made of another berdache who had lived in Wisconsin and was called čoranaǯiŋga or Standing Blue (čoŗanaǯiŋga—čo: blue; ŗa: article; naži: to stand; wiŋ: elided with naži as naziŋ, female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). The term šiáŋge was suggested as a general word for berdache by two Wisconsin informants, and it was translated by several people as "a no good," "a eunuch," "an unmanly man." This word was still in common use in Wisconsin in 1947, but was used among young men as an insult or teasing epithet. These young men claimed to know nothing more about the word except that it carried connotations of weakness and effeminateness.

The characteristics of the Winnebago berdache agree closely with those reported for the Omaha and Ponca but the word used to designate a berdache in both of these latter tribes was mi^a-qu-ga, according to Dorsey (378–379). Among the Oglala the berdache had been blessed by a pote wi^{a}kte or hermaphroditic buffalo, wi^{a}kte being the word for berdache. A certain amount of shame had become attached to the role among these Plains Siouan groups by the time it was reported by Dorsey in 1889 and Wissler in 1912, but Wissler (p. 92) said of the Oglala, "In the old days all the berdaches were very wakan."

Knowledge of the berdache among the Winnebago was provided in 1946 through a chance conversation with M.M., a woman who was then about thirty years old. Her parents had been the first Christian converts at the Winnebago community near Black River Falls, Wisconsin, and M.M. had once heard her mother mention "Men who dressed as women." When M.M. attempted to question her mother, at the writer's request, for more information about the berdache, the mother, then a woman in her seventies, became very angry and said in Winnebago, "Why did you ask about that? That is something we want to forget and not talk about."

Another woman, S.S., a younger sister of Radin's famous informant Crashing Thunder, was next approached and she offered the following account.

> Yes, I used to hear about that, but I don't know much about it. Once there was a man who fasted and he learned that if he dressed like a woman he would be the richest person in the world, but if he wore men's clothes, he die soon. She wore earrings, and bracelets, and necklaces and a shirt like a woman, but his brothers told him . . . her? . . . if he . . . she? . . . put on a skirt they would kill him. There used to be people like that, not just that one. I think šiáŋge is the word for them but I don't know, now it's just a slang word and means a no good. Those people did women's work, and they did it real good, better than even women could.

Later M.M., the original informant, was able to prevail upon her mother to provide more information. Her description included all of the points given above except mention of wealth accruing to the berdache. However, M.M.'s mother added that berdaches had been blessed by the moon and had the gift

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

According to M.R., a party of Winnebago once went on the warpath and were badly beaten. One man, the only survivor according to his claim, returned to his village. There he recounted his valorous deeds at the side of his companions, and said he had escaped only because the enemy had left him for dead. He was accorded great honor until sometime later another member of the party returned and told how the first man had fled and hidden out in the woods when he saw that the battle was going against the Winnebago. The cowardly and dishonest warrior, on the decision of the police (bear) clan, then had to take on the role of a woman and lived in disgrace the rest of his life.

Evidence concerning the berdache was even less definite in Nebraska. G.P., a woman about fifty years old in 1950, mentioned that her mother-in-law once told her of a case which agreed in most details with that of dejáŋčowiŋga, but this individual was called čoŋanažiŋga and was supposed to have lived in Wisconsin. However, G.S., a man born in 1887, who also told of čoŋanažiŋga, gave an account of a berdache who was his mother's cousin. G.S.'s mother was Iowa and Oto through her maternal line and the berdache cousin, referred to as "sister," was a parallel cousin of Iowa and Oto descent. However, the description G.S. recounted as having come from his mother is almost identical to that regarding the Winnebago berdache. The cousin had been blessed by the moon, feared death if he disobeyed the moon's directions that he dress and act as a woman, even to giving this as the reason for his behavior when G.S.'s mother once remonstrated with him for being, "a shame to us Indians."

An attempt was made to discover whether the Winnebago berdache role for men had a parallel Siouan role of "warrior women." Only one very doubtful account was collected in 1946 from S.S. the Wisconsin informant who provided the first extensive description of dejáŋčowiŋga.

Once there was a man, kind of high tone, he had two wives. The older one wanted to keep her husband so she had him marry her younger sister too. They used to do that years ago when they wanted to hold their husbands. Anyway, this man and his gang went off to the Civil War. There was a bad woman in the camp. She was a good looker, but she was bad, and this man took the bad woman with him. During the war one time they ran out of bullets, and this woman got on a horse and went through the enemy lines to a big city and came back with a whole lot of bullets and saved them. Another time she warned them when they were all asleep and the enemy was near. When they came back, she was riding on the horse in front of the man, and the men had all given her presents for saving them. Her waist was just covered with ribbons and the man's two wives cried when they saw it. The people made up a song about her because she was a brave woman and sometimes they still sing it. After that they always called her hinugrosisiŋgra which meant that she laughed aloud like a man, shaking her whole body [hinugrosisiŋgra—hinuk:woman; ro:body; sisiŋk:to shake as with laughter; ra: article; k is voiced when followed by r]. They call those giggling girls that nowadays sometimes.

While the above account probably represents an isolated example of a woman who went to war rather than an accepted type of role, it is apparent that

796 575 158 out design. There he lay without motion or sign of life, and the dance was resumed around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 575 783 They told the Judge before they admitted him to this ceremony that while he was there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to

[841] [843] [273] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the menstrual period, no woman pregnant or recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings

[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.

796 575 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the evening and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies

[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The

● [171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, except a small hole or chimney was kept open

[775] from the top down into the house. When

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
•171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[753] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of
828 the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
158 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

796 says there is no sham about this falling down
575 of the person on the floor in a swoon in the
828 manner described. That this is the precise
158 shock of the system to produce which the fasting and the steaming process is resorted to, and all the other ceremonies of the initiation, including the dance.

755 When a person is sick and incurable by
158 the simple remedies known to the Indians, and the friends become apprehensive for the life of the person, then the medicine men are called in and they go through certain ceremonies, all of which operate upon the nervous system already enfeebled and excited by disease, and tend to bring about that shock or prostration of the nervous system, which when produced is supposed also to relax the hold and power of the disease at the same time. In a word it kills the disease, or breaks the disease, or destroys
[753] the evil spirit then in the body which causes the disease, and then if there is constitutional strength enough left to raise up the body from its utter prostration, the patient recovers.

753 It would seem that they regarded the
755 nervous system or the sensitive part of our
828 nature as the seat of the disease, and addressed their remedies to the sensitive part, that is to the mind rather than to the body, to the spirit rather than to the organs of the
[171] body. The medicine system prevails very generally among our Indian races. In fact it is universal so far as we have found out the customs of the remote tribes.

755 I asked Walker about the cheats prac-
756 ticed by the medicine men upon the credulity of their patients, that is, pretending to take out of a man's back a tooth or a bone. He says that in their practice they want to make money, and the greater the feat they perform the greater the charge they make. Sometimes they charge a horse etc.

[P 61 (B)]
[pp 62 - 209 not processed]

9: Morgan E-5 (1859) 1959 NP12 Winnebago NP12

115 97. Joseph Williams, born in Pennsylvania in 1801, served as associate justice in Iowa Territory and state. In 1857 he was appointed associate justice of Kansas Territory by President Buchanan; he served until 1861. He made his home in Ft. Scott; died in 1870. For an account of some of Williams' activities in Kansas in the fall of 1859 and 1860, see *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1915–18*, XIV, 295–6, 230; *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1901–02*, VII, 402.

[113]

796 98. This is probably one of the earliest accounts
575 of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, performed by a secret society in summer only. Its purpose is to prolong life and to cultivate certain nonmartial virtues. The Winnebago Medicine Dance is closely related to the Algonquian Midéwiwin, to the Dakota "Mystery Dance," and to the Omaha "Pebble Ceremony." See "The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXIV (1911): 149–208, and *The Winnebago Tribe* (Bureau of American Ethnology, 37th Annual Report, 1923), both by Dr. Paul Radin; see also "Winnebago," in *Handbook of American Indians*, edited by Hodge.

•[171]

[113]

[p. 210]
[pp. 211-233 not processed]

10:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1945
NP12 Winnebago NP12

longing to the *midewiwin*. Nor do the two Winnebago say anything about their having been incorporated into a ceremony of their own. Yet some connection there must once have been between these gifts and the beginnings of our Medicine Rite, for otherwise there would have been no conceivable reason for their inclusion.

Since everything else in the Medicine Rite of today, apart from the shooting ritual, is so completely different from the Ojibwa and Menominee *midewiwin*, the only two we know reasonably well, we must assume either that a new ceremony was created then and there with the shooting ritual as its nucleus or that the shooting ritual was incorporated into an older Winnebago ceremony. All the evidence at our disposal points to the latter alternative. We have also to assume that this older ceremony contained shamanistic practices of the type that were characteristic of the Night-spirits' Rite.

That it was not the Night-spirits' Rite itself upon which the Ojibwa shooting ritual was grafted, of that there can be little doubt. Fortunately, we have a clue from a very unexpected source, the Pawnee. These Indians have a ceremony called *The Ceremony of the Medicine Men*, where we find the following remarkable resemblances to the Medicine Rite: a shooting ritual which causes the individuals shot to fall prostrate to the ground as if dead and then rise again; the conception that the framework of the lodge consists of snakes; a figure called the sacred woman; the importance of Turtle; a membership possessing occult powers strictly guarded and kept secret from the outside world; a highly elaborate symbolism, etc. Chance must be ruled out here. The only thing we have to decide is how the Winnebago happen to possess a ceremony so similar to that of the distant Pawnee with whom they had practically no contact. Direct borrowing is out of the question.

To me there seems to be only one possible explanation, namely, that the Winnebago and the Pawnee, the Winnebago to a smaller extent, were members of that larger civilization which we mentioned before and which had its roots in Mexico, and of which the Pawnee have preserved the essential traits whereas the Winnebago have preserved only vague memories of it and some special survivals.

Assuming then that the older ceremony upon which the Ojibwa

105 shooting ritual, plus its appurtenances, the otterskin pouch and the
171 shell, were grafted, was in content very much like the present *Pawnee*
174 *Ceremony of the Medicine Men* and, organizationally, like the
196 Night-spirits Society; let us see now what changes were necessary to have this older ceremony approximate to the present Medicine Rite.

105 First, of course, the meaning of the missile shot into the individual
174 being initiated and into the members of the Rite had to be reinter-
196 preted and its overt shamanistic implications removed. The stimulus for that unquestionably came from the Ojibwa shooting ritual. The linkage of the shooting ritual with the doctrine of reincarnation is, however, something entirely new.

The second transformation came about when the Tear-Pouring ritual was grafted upon this older rite. This last named ritual, apparently, was part of the very elaborate ceremonies connected with the dead although, today, it is not found in the official Four Nights' Wake. What is, however, found there is the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* which has been taken over *in toto* into the Medicine Rite and subjected to a complete and fundamental reinterpretation. I feel that it is the linkage of these elements from the funeral rites with the older form of the Medicine Rite that brought about its basic transformation and gave us the Rite of today, with its stress on reincarnation and on the doctrine of the Road.

The third new trait requiring an explanation is the role of Earth-maker. He is a very old Winnebago deity and was evidently regarded as the supreme deity before the coming of the Europeans. He seems, in fact, to be the counterpart of the well-known Pawnee supreme deity *Tirawa*. Nevertheless, the influence of Christianity in, at least, unifying his characteristics and functions and accentuating his supremacy over the other deities, as well as the theory that he is the creator of all things, must not be excluded. The association of the two crossed lines with him cannot be accidental, even although the symbol itself is very old and is more specifically connected with the cardinal points.

There is, besides, some semihistorical evidence for indirect Christian influence. In a narrative purporting to be an account of the origin of a well-known French half-breed family among the Winne-

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Comanche NO6

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.* The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-HML 4:127–132, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLeod, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 5–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

* Data for the Ute and Wasko–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute *Peyotism* which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ute	K-A	Ko	Com	Kio	Ara	Del	Del	Wis	Mo	Cr	Cr	Win	Ute	Ome	F-W	Tom
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3–5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	+
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	+
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	+
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+							

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ AD
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12 ●
Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism 105[A]
C D W 171 795 796 [534] ●

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12
CW 171 795 796 [634] [636]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

Element	Occurrence																							
	SIT	M-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ark	Dkt	Dkt	Win	Nav	Ute	Ute	Ute	Shos	Pau	Pau	Pau	Mes	Ari	Ari	Ari	Ari	Ari	Tem
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
36. Pottery jar	•+		–	–		–	+				–	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
41. 7 stones represent days			+	–		–		–			–													
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)																		
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•–	+	–	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•–	+	+	+	•–	+	–	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
59. In oak leaves	+	–	+	+	–•(+)		–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
60. In paper	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–		–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

Element	Occurrence																				
	Tem	Ar	Cm	Ch	Ow	Ot	Ki	Ke	Wn	Ho	Ta	Ut	Ka	Ks	Ks	Ks	Ks	Ks	Ks	Ks	Ks
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
69. Form cross	+	+	(+)	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		+	+		(+)	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
79. 4 or more assistants		−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

C W 171 745 796 [296]

Comanche NO6
Crow NQ40
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12 ●

Co Cr D W ● 171 P45 P96 F783 P78

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM17
Winnebago NP12 ●

Stewart: Wasko-Northern Paiute Peyotism 105[A]

Element	Occurrence																									
	Tim	Ala	Cp	Ca	Ch	Ara	Cha	Kio	Wic	Pic	Ki	Ki2	Ki3	Ki4	Ki5	Ki6	Ki7	Ki8	Ki9	Ki10	Ki11	Ki12	Ki13	Ki14	Ki15	Ki16
121. An assistant on each side of leader		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
122. Women sit behind men			−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
123. All pass to south of moon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes		+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing		+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
139. Peyote passed round circle		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start		+	°+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed		+	°+	°+	+	+	−																			
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button		+		°+	+	(−)	−																			
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts		+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar		+	+	+	+	+	°−																			
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire		+		+	−	(+)	°+																			
148. Paraphernalia incensed		+	+	+	−	+																				
149. 4 times		+	+	+	−																					
150. Worshippers incensed		+	°+	+	−																					

(Continued on next page)

Co
Cr
D
W
171 ●
185
196
[276]
[783]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ1D
Winnebago NP12
C W 1171 D45 N96 [533]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	ST	E-A	Kio	Com	Kio	STS	Del	Dw	Wis	Mes	Cl	Cl	Mes	Dia	Sho	Wic	Cre	Tew
151. 4 times	+		+	–		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	–	+	+		(+)	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
167. 4 sticks added							–					(+)	–								
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
171. 4 times	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ 10
Winnebago NP 12 ●

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism 111[87]

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche No6
Wijujekago N P12 ●
C W ● 171 PAS 786 [1947]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Concluded)

Element	Occurrences																									
	Ast	Pa	Ha	Pe	Ho	Ba	Sa	Pi	Da	Ma	Oc	Lo	Ka	Ma	Ju	Ra	Ch	Ta	Ar	Ut	Sh	Ca	Ow	Ki	Ko	Wi
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+	+		(+)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+		+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
221. Food blessed	+		+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Wash before eating									–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
224. Before eating	+																									
225. Drum untied	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
226. Water from drum drunk	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+		+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+		+	+	+	+		+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+																									
232. Food passed clockwise	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door				?																						
233a. Order before passing reversed																										
234. Taken out by fire chief	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+		+	+	+	(–)	(–)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+																									
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting																										

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Wiwebago NP12 ●

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism 113[N]

Element	Occurrence																									
	Tim	Fal	Dan	Ow	Wa	Ban	Bid	Pai	Ban	Bid	Wa	Pai	Ow	Dan	Fal	Tim	Ow	Wa	Pai	Ban	Bid	Wa	Pai	Ban	Bid	Ow
230. Feast follows meeting		+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+			+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+												
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+			+		(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+														
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+		+	+	+	•	+	+	+	•		+													
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+												
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+												
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+				+													
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+													
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+				+													
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+				+													
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	• +	+	+	+				+													
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				–	+	+				+													
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	• +	+	+	• +	+	+	+				+													
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	• +	+	+	+	+	+	+				+													
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	• +	+	–		–	+	+				+													
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	• +	+	• +	+	–	–	–				+													
265a. (See note)																										

C
W
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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Winnebago NP12

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

C W 171 795 1946

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab 8: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Maloof).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab 8: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval cellobuid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Preus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab 8: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leaved variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab 8: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab 8: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Maloof). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 138). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab 8: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound together is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

28. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

28. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Winnebago NP12

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WR8: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).
32. Ab 8: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
39. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).
40. Kie: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab 8: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 80). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).
43. Ab 8: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab 8: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab 8: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kie: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab 8: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab 8: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WR8: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab 8: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WR8: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔ́gʷəš—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NR10

Winnebago NP12

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 83.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 86. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ1D
Winnebago NP12

Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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Crow NR10
Winnebago NR12

C
W
171
795
796

125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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Crow NQ1D
Winnebago NM2 ●

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus). C W 171 ● 795 796

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin). W

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93). [532]

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin). C

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget). [276]

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf). [782]

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12 ●

CW 171 795 796 W [264] C [264]

Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–56). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damé apé (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form ni'mé apé (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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Crow NQ2D
Winnebago NP12

264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

Program: Native American Church

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

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Comanche ND6
Winnebago NP12
Ojibwa NT6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9

APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	260	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1934.

(Concluded on next page)

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Comanche NO6
Winnebago NA12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1935.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	267 Peyotists	267 Peyotists	
			88 Active	180 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8